CHINA WEEKLY

REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

FEI HSIAO-TUNG the noted Chinese sociologist writes on

My Search For Democracy

PPCC PROCLAIMS REPUBLIC

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC VILLAGE

LEE TSUNG-YING

EDITORIALS:

RACIAL PREJUDICE

HAS CORRUPTION ENDED?

OCTOBER 1, 1949

JMP 700

上海中正東路一六〇號密勒氏評論報發行

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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Subscription Rates

	3 months
Shanghai and China Outports (ordinary mail delivery)	JMP 8,500
Hongkong (ordinary mail delivery)	JMP 9,000

	6 months	*1 year*
U.S.A. and other Foreign Countries	US$5.00	US$9.00

Price per copy: JMP 700

STUDENT RATES

	3 months
Shanghai and China Outports (ordinary mail delivery)	JMP 7,000

(All subscriptions must be authenticated by the individual student's school and must be sent directly to the offices of the China Weekly Review.)

All mail rates are subject to change in accordance with postal changes.
Cable Address: "Reviewing" Shanghai **Telephone: 14772**

Published at 160 Chung Cheng Road (Eastern), Shanghai(0), China, by Millard Publishing Company, Incorporated under the Laws of the State of Delaware, U.S.A. Registered at the Chinese Post Office as a newspaper for transmission with special marks privileges in China. Printed by the Millington Limited, 117 Hongkong Road, Shanghai, China.

Contents of previous issues of the China Weekly Review may be found in the "International Index of Periodicals," copies of which are on file in most standard libraries.

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

LIFE IN THE PLA

To The Editor:

This is the first time that I have written to the Review. My English is very poor, but for the purpose of informing you about life in the Liberation Army, I am writing you the following:

The Liberation Army is different from other troops. The Liberation soldiers know that they are fighting for the people and therefore they are brave in battle. That is why the Chinese Revolution can be victorious. In the Army, the soldiers have many opportunities to study and enjoy a free life. Many soldiers before they joined the army, could not read or write a single word. Now they are able to read newspapers and write letters. Therefore, I may say, the Liberation Army offers more opportunities to learn than any other troops.

In addition to learning, the soldiers spend their time in dancing the Yang-Ko, telling stories and playing ball. As a result, they are cheerful in spirit.

Because of the reasons stated above, the youth in the old Liberated Areas are willing to join the Army.

P. J. LIN.

Hwang Yen Hsien, Chekiang
September, 16, 1949.

GEN. CHEN'S SPEECH

To The Editor:

I was deeply moved at hearing a speech given by General Chen Min-jen on July 30 at the unprecedently big meeting held to celebrate the liberation of Changsha. General Chen, the Commander-in-chief of the KMT 12th Army, had once conducted a desperate battle in Sze Ping Kai. He stated in a firm and strong voice before an audience of more than 50,000 people what had made him change his mind and begin to think for the welfare of the common people, and how he had obstructed Pai Chung-hsi's evacuation plan from being carried out.

He emphasized: "I have done what the people wanted me to do and made it possible for the people of Changsha to be liberated without hearing gunfire. Several months ago, the people were terribly afraid that I would fight on with determination regardless of the lives and property of the people and, in consequence, fatally ruin Changsha, the great city where the Japs wreaked havoc some four years ago. People also feared that I should become a stooge for the bogus government in Canton and hold Changsha at the expense of the people, just as I had erred in the defense of Sze Ping Kai. But I have learned the truth, that it is always right to do things in accordance with the people's will, which like the surging tide, is powerful and fearless, and drives on despite any obstacles.

"I have often tried to get into closer contact with the people and will be a humble student before them. I remember that I said at a press conference

(Continued on page 70)

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The editorial pages present each week the opinions of the editor. The other pages of The China Weekly Review are written by the other members of the staff and the contributing editors who report and interpret the news irrespective of the views expressed in the editorials.

Vol. 115 Shanghai, Saturday, October 1, 1949 No. 5

RACIAL PREJUDICES

THE problem of racial prejudice is one of the inheritances which the People's government received when it came into power. The KMT, like previous regimes, attempted to solve the problem of minority races by eradicating them. The new authorities, however, have realized from the beginning that such a method is fundamentally incorrect and, as far back as the early days in Yenan, the Chinese Communist Party put into practice a policy aimed at encouraging China's minorities to develop their own culture.

More recently we have further examples of this approach, as well as concrete evidence of its success. The PLA troops now racing through the Northwest in the wake of the fleeing Ma generals are doing their best to accommodate themselves to local customs and habits. For instance, soldiers may not eat pork or smoke when they are in the home of a Moslem family.

Undoubtedly this tolerance—and actual encouragement—of a minority's cultural practices is helping the PLA in its victorious march. The propaganda put out by the degenerate Moslem leaders of the Northwest to the effect that the People's forces represent a new wave of Han aggression has been largely discounted.

In the PPCC, now in session in Peiping, further examples of this enlightened policy may be seen. There are representatives from China's various minority races who stand upon an equal footing with other delegates.

The Communists, both in China and Russia, as well as in other countries, long ago figured out the real basis of racial antagonisms between majority and minority races. One of the main reasons for the exploitation of the minority by the majority was that it provided a "whipping post" toward which the majority race's rulers could turn public grumbling.

The classic example of this in recent times was Hitler's Germany in which theories of racial supremacy and antagonism towards minorities were developed to a high degree. Everything that was wrong, both in the past and the present, was blamed on the Jews. Certainly a major reason for Hitler's racial theories was to enlist the support of the average German for the Nazi dreams of world conquest. Nazi propagandists harped on the theme of racism for so long and with such adroitness that the mass of the German people willingly and enthusiastically joined hands with the Nazis in perpetrating unspeakable crimes upon the German Jews and upon many of Germany's neighboring races.

This same general system has been followed by previous Chinese governments which have succeeded in bringing about almost complete antagonism among the various races which make up this country. The Han farmers struggling for a living in the Mongolian borderlands, for instance, have been convinced that the root of their troubles lies with the Mongols rather than with their own corrupt and venal officials. Likewise the degenerate leaders of the Mongolian banners have time and again rallied the downtrodden Mongols to their cause by proclaiming the Han race to be the source of all evil.

The Communists throughout the world have constantly pointed out that it is impossible to develop a truly strong and democratic nation unless the conflicts between the races are removed. In Russia great strides are reported to have been made in the establishment of autonomous areas in which peoples of one race are free to maintain their national customs such as the use of their native tongue.

The object, it is said, is to remove causes for friction. From time to time, it is thought, the various minority races will of their own accord drop the less advanced and less desirable aspects of their native culture in favor of more advanced forms which they discover in their contact with other peoples throughout the country. Eventually, it is predicted, a new national culture for all of Russia will be developed which will be a mixture of the best characteristics of the various national groups within the country.

This seems to be the general plan toward which the authorities have been working in China. However, it is a difficult task in that the prejudices of centuries have to be combatted. In many areas of conflict, the underlying economic contradictions have to be conquered first.

Shanghai has for long been a center of strong racial conflicts. As the most important of the old treaty ports, anti-foreignism is understandably strong. Likewise, foreign discrimination against Chinese reached a high point here. Fortunately, however, times are changing and most of the past inequalities responsible for such antagonisms have been removed.

However, this city has a long history of foreign-Chinese conflicts which have left their mark on many inhabitants, both Chinese and foreign. In some local Chinese circles, the antagonism toward foreigners has become a personal thing, going beyond the point of anti-foreign imperialism. More or less the same is true among many local foreigners who have been unhappy ever since the abolition of extraterritoriality and who today practice discrimination against Chinese whenever and wherever possible.

Workers, soldiers and peasants celebrate the rebuilding of the Huai River Bridge in Anhwei Province —from the Giefang Rhbao.

The problem of these unreconstructed foreigners will be solved relatively easily in that only those foreigners who can actually contribute to the progress of this country will find work to keep them here, while the diehards and the other misfits will have no choice but to leave.

For those prejudiced Chinese, it is a matter of education and may take some time, especially if the foreign policies of various powers abroad continue to be hostile to the new China.

An indication of the educational problem lying ahead was contained in a short comment in one local Chinese newspaper early this week regarding the departure of the General Gordon. After a few sharp—and generally well founded —observations about some of the various individuals sailing upon the ship, the paper unfortunately spoiled the article by repeating a few old canards about the Jews.

Among the stateless Jews who left, the paper said, were many who came to Shanghai because they had read that the city was a paradise for adventurers. As soon as they arrived, the paper continued, they engaged in such illegal activities as manufacturing fake American goods, dealing in the currency black-market, and manipulating the stock market.

Actually, the stateless Jews arrived in Shanghai in flight from Nazi persecution. They were refugees who became "stateless" through no choice of their own. It would probably have been more apt if the paper had applied the same descriptions to some of the foreigners of other nationalities who left on the Gordon, or to some of the Chinese who fled just prior to the liberation.

The Jews have been the victims of persecution for many centuries, mainly because of the reasons outlined in the foregoing which apply to other minority groups, although the Jews have perhaps become a special case in that their persecution has been of such long duration and so widespread throughout the world that it has taken on certain particular characteristics not observable in conflicts involving other minority groups.

While it is a long and ardous task, the economic changes which China is now undergoing, plus the correct policy of the government, should result in the eventual ending of racial antagonisms in this country. This will be a great step forward for society.

HAS CORRUPTION BEEN ENDED?

THIS is a question which we have been asked upon several occasions recently, especially by long resident foreigners or by some of our more "worldly" Chinese acquaintances. Since it is obviously impossible to answer with a flat, "yes," the rejoinder inevitably becomes, "It's the same old China. A new broom may sweep clean, but it doesn't stay clean very long."

Those who pursue this line of reasoning can marshal considerable "evidence" to back up their argument. The papers, they say, are carrying increasing numbers of stories dealing with outright corruption in official sources and with tales of bureaucratic inefficiency. Before long, they prophesy, we will see a general "easing up" of rules and regulations. The Kuomintang, they point out, was also full of energy and idealism when it came to power. The new authorities, they say, will, like the Kuomintang and like Chinese dynasties of the past, find the pull of China's ancient "traditions" too strong to be resisted for long.

This is a very attractive line of reasoning for many dissatisfied and unhappy individuals who prefer to day dream about the past—when there were easy profits for the well connected—rather than try to adjust to the new situation. It is also a line followed by KMT elements left behind to engage in disruptive activities. However, such reasoning is so patently ridiculous that it comes as a surprise to hear people seriously discussing the pros and cons of the argument.

This whole line of reasoning, we believe, can be dealt with rather shortly. First, it is quite true that the papers frequently carry some stories either of corruption or, more often, official ineptitude resulting in delay or material losses. However, can those who see in these stories "evidence" of a decline in morale and discipline search back in their memories to a period of only a few months ago, for example, and recall whether or not such stories appeared regularly in the press then? In case memories are short, we might supply the answer, which is an emphatic "no!" Under the KMT, corruption and inefficiency was the rule and rarely did any mention of such affairs reach the press except perhaps when a couple of grafters fell out and tried to embarrass each other publicly. In fact no more than four months ago corruption was so common in Shanghai that stories giving details were considered of precious little news value.

Cannot the appearance of these stories in the press today more likely be explained as constituting a policy of directing public—and official—attention to such evils so that all may be on guard against them? It seems to us that the story about the government official who squeezed ration coupons and who was fired when his corruption was discovered will have two good effects. First, it impresses upon the public the watchful eye which officialdom is keeping upon itself in that when a mistake is committed, it is immediately aired in public rather than suppressed. This indicates

a strength and confidence which previous regimes certainly lacked. Secondly, such a method of giving publicity to errors cannot fail to impress upon the officials themselves the need for efficiency and honesty of administration.

This same analysis, we believe, holds good for each and every story detailing the shortcomings of officials or private individuals, regardless of whether the incident involves a breach of the law or merely an undesirable result because of carelessness.

Since the period of transition has just begun, the people—no matter whether they be officials or private citizens—have a lot to learn and, perhaps of equal importance, a lot to unlearn. It is quite likely that for some time to come the papers will frequently carry stories of the shortcomings of this or that individual, or this or that organization. However, in our view publication of such accounts, far from indicating a weakening or a return to the "normalcy" of the past, demonstrates clearly the strength of the new regime and its determination to overcome the evils which in the past have plagued each successive Chinese government.

WHO'S NOT PERMITTING WHAT?

AMONG the stacks of American magazines and other mail which arrived during the week were some very interesting communications from the circulation departments of three magazines. Two of them, from *Time* magazine and *Fortune*, both published by Henry Luce, China-born missionary and long time friend of ex-Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, were identical.

"Regretfully," this form letter reads, "we have had to stop sending you *Time* (or *Fortune*). Your copies have been sent to you regularly, but we understand distribution has not been permitted in your country. . . ."

Readers of these magazines in China, we feel sure, will be interested to hear this news, especially since copies of most other American magazines arrived in the same mail as did the letters from *Time* and *Fortune*. At least readers will know the reason why their copies did not arrive—they simply were not mailed. Perhaps the kindest thing we could say about the circulation managers of *Time* and *Fortune* is that they have been reading their own products and thus are understandably confused as to conditions in this country.

However, it seems that we cannot be even that charitable since in the same mail there was a letter from the circulation manager of the *New Yorker* magazine who said that for the time being their magazine was not being mailed to China because of the unsettled conditions and because the American postoffice and American shipping companies had given the *New Yorker* "conflicting information" about the state of the mails to China. However, the letter ended with a request that we let them know if our mail was coming through okay so that they could resume sending their magazine to us.

The *New Yorker* is confused and admits it and asks for advice. *Time* and *Fortune*, however, "understand" that circulation is *not permitted* here, so apparently we shall have to wait until they "understand" differently, which, if past "understanding" of events in this country is any criterion, may be quite a while.

25 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Spinning Industry In China

September 27, 1924.

If the present situation in the spinning industry in China could be summarized into outline form, it could be stated in one sentence. Chinese interests have passed from the stage of development to a path of decline while the Japanese are making rapid strides ahead and the British position remains unchanged. . . . During 1918 and 1919, the cotton industry in China suddenly rose into prominence and new mills sprang up like mushrooms in all parts of China. It was only then that the spinning industry was organized on a large scale by our Chinese merchants. . . . After 1921, the tide began to turn from the path of prosperity and the yarn market became gradually depreciated; but although this seriously affected the business of the spinning mills, yet, externally, they were getting on tolerably well every year. In 1923, a more serious crisis occurred. The precarious situation of the spinning business of the whole world generated a curious and significant effect in the form of an alarming decrease of Chinese spindlage and, strange to note, the rapid increase of Japanese. As China's cotton industry is still in its infancy and its foundation is not yet solid, it is not able to withstand so violent an upheaval. On the other hand, the Japanese interests spare no time nor effort to proceed forward and seize every opportunity to suppress China's part in this industry.

From—"Present Status of Spinning Industry in China" by Ho Chieh-shiang.

* * *

Hankow Citizens Want Rights Restored

A circular has been issued in Hankow calling upon the people throughout the country to move for restoration of Chinese customs and the taking back of judicial and educational rights from nationals of imperialistic countries. It was signed by "representatives of municipal citizens of Hankow."

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Hitler Seizes Warsaw

September 30, 1939.

The German High Command announced September 27 that the Commander of the Warsaw Garrison had offered to surrender the Polish capital unconditionally. German troops, it was stated, had already fought their way into the outskirts of the city in the face of the fiercest opposition.

* * *

India Protests

Charging the British Government with having deliberately ignored the opinion of India and with having declared India a belligerent in the European war without her consent, the Executive Committee of the Indian National Congress in a declaration issued last week stated that India's participation in the war is a matter which can only be decided by the Indian peoples, who will not allow their country's resources to be used for imperialist aims.

Noting that the governments of Britain and France have asserted that they are struggling for freedom and democracy, the declaration says that if this is really the case, then Britain should put an end to her imperialistic policy and establish an unreserved democracy in India. The declaration advanced demands for self-determination, a constituent assembly, and India's right to guide her own policy. . . .

The New Village Democracy

LEE TSUNG-YING

PEOPLE in town tend to underrate the intelligence of the rural population. Peasants are usually pictured as being backward, ignorant and unable to manage their own affairs. So it is frequently argued that, with over 80 percent of her population composed of such "backward and ignorant" people, China is entirely unfit for any kind of democratic government and that a good government in China should be a benevolent and paternal one which knows how to manage the people to their own advantage. A great number of those who argue this way assume that the People's Government is nothing but a benevolent despot which ministers to the people what it thinks to be best for them. Democracy is, therefore, just an empty watchword which might have a good sounding effect but which has no real meaning at all.

A trip to the old liberated area in Shantung gave me an entirely different picture. Once in a village in that area, one could not help feeling right away the changes that have been brought about among the population during the last couple of years under the able guidance of the Chinese Communist Party. The peasants there are no longer ignorant and pathetic as we used to think of them. If they are still tilling their lands from dawn till night as they used to do before, they have an entirely new outlook. They know their own position in the whole nation and how all that happens throughout China can affect their own interest one way or the other. It is no exaggeration to say that they are now very much ready to play the important role allotted to them in the general economic and political development of this country. All through the war of liberation they have manifested this by their persistent positiveness and enthusiasm in supporting all the movements which would help to win the war for them and for all the people. They volunteered to enlist in the Liberation Army. They toiled hard so that the People's government could collect enough taxes in kind to operate the war with success against the Kuomingtang reactionaries, which they know is the first way to obtain an ever better life.

Village Elections

With such political awakening among the rural masses, democracy is not only possible but has already been put into practice gradually throughout the old liberated area in Shantung. All the villages and most of the *hsiangs* (groupings of five to seven villages) now have chiefs elected by and from the ranks of poor and medium farmers. The popularly-elected chief is as a rule the most advanced politically and the most hard-working member of his own community. He gets no pay and holds no special privileges. He is just one of the peasants who tills the same amount of land as the others do and happens to be elected to serve and lead the villagers because he has shown his ability to do so. He is entirely different from his equivalents under the Kuomintang régime who did nothing but squeeze the farmers for their superiors and at the same time carve out a rich slice for themselves too.

But democracy there does not end with the election of the chiefs. The peasants participate in all sorts of organizations and meetings, the purposes of which range from enlisting in the army to digging wells. The important organization in a village is the Farmers' Association. Supporting it there are the Women's Association, the Children's Brigade, the Production Committee, the Cooperatives, and others. The membership of all these groups is restricted to the poor and medium farmers. Former landlords and rich farmers can apply for admittance only after five or three years of "labor reform" respectively. These organizations provide their members with chances to discuss various topics which concern them, and are also educational centers where they can exchange their views and experiences and listen to talks on political or other subjects. It is also through the activities of these organizations that the farmers can keep a controlling hand on village affairs and see to it that the chief does represent the interests of the whole body.

New Leadership

Take a village which I visited during my trip for example. The chief, Chen Te-sheng, is a local farmer who reads and writes a little. With a family of six, he had only about three *mou* of land before liberation and had to take on all sorts of odd jobs to eke out a bare living. During the land reform he was elected chairman of the Farmers' Association and later the village chief. Now he has for his whole family some 15 *mou* of land and a small vegetable farm; that is, about the village average of three *mou* of land to everyone in a family. He works on his land as others do and goes to a nearby town to sell his vegetables every morning. It is because of the fact that his two sons have joined the Army and that his family is now short of working hands, and not because he happens to be the village chief, that he gets help from fellow-villagers to work his farm. Recently he and three other families installed jointly a new type of water pump on their vegetable gardens. The story he told me about how he had that pump installed is quite interesting and throws some light on the part a village chief plays in leading his community.

When the town cooperative man showed Chen the new type of water pump, he was very much impressed. Since he could not afford to buy one for himself, he went to work on three other families who had vegetable gardens adjacent to his. They were all very reluctant to pay a fairly high price for something entirely new to them. Chen had a talk with the cooperative man and decided to have the pump installed right away and have it working. The demonstration was too strong for the other three families and they all came to him the next day to pay their shares. After proudly showing me around his farm and having me take a look at the new baby he had just acquired, Chen said to me confidently, "I have set the whole village thinking. Just look, it won't be long before they will all come and ask me to buy one for them."

Democracy in Action

That very evening, there was a production rally in that same village and Chen asked me and several others to attend. It was really a great experience for me. Over a hundred men and women gathered on the village school playground promptly after the ringing of the bell. The village chief took the chair and gave a brief introductory speech on the purpose of the rally. Then leaders of the ten sections of the Farmers' Association stood up and talked in turn on behalf of their respective sections on the progress of their work in lending a helping hand on the farms belonging to families which had members in the Army and were then short of labor. After that, a discussion was started as to the ways and means of overcoming the present difficulties in summer ploughing. It was suggested and accepted that women and children should be fully utilized so that work could be completed in time. Some women stood up and pointed out the kind of work a woman could do as well as a man. The problem of organizing cooperative working groups was also brought up and the sections were asked to discuss the details of this matter later. The meeting lasted for two hours and at the end the chief of the *chü* (grouping of several *hsiangs*), who also took part in that meeting, gave a brief summary of the discussion. Throughout the rally, there were no lengthy speeches. All that was said was concise and to the point. The participants listened quietly and seriously when others were talking.

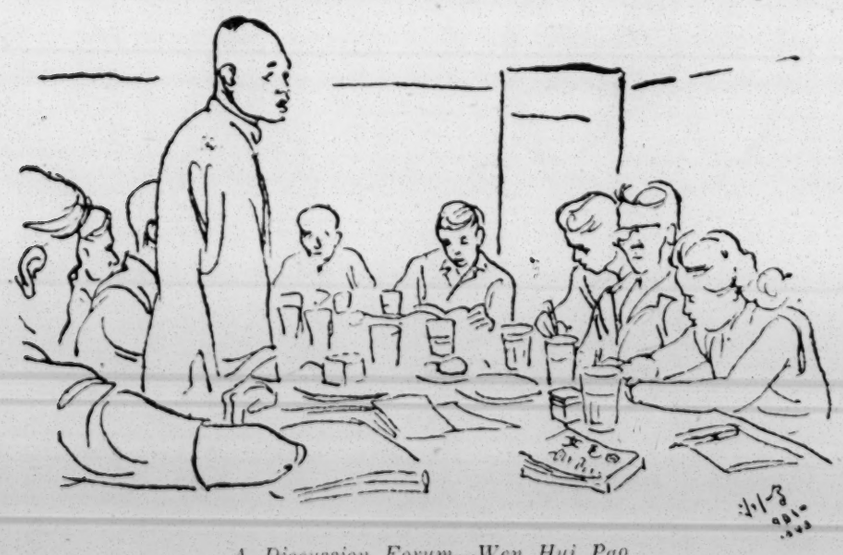
This is but one of the thousands of villages in Shantung where the rural population is gradually learning its lesson in democracy. And in most villages, as in this one, the first important lesson came to the people with land reform. Land reform is not something handed down to the people from above. The liberation of a place only provides the political possibility for such reform. The rest has to be done by the farmers themselves under the guidance of the Party. In almost all the cases, land reform was not carried out until one or one-and-a-half years had elapsed after the liberation. In the meantime rallies and activities were organized to educate the people so that they could understand the real origin of the plight they were in and the char-

acter of the feudalistic exploitation under which they had suffered.

Once land reform became a popular demand after the farmers had been thus educated, it flourished as a mass movement in which most of the poor and medium farmers took an active part. Within the Farmers' Association and the other organizations, the farmers themselves carried out investigations which led to a fair redistribution of the land among the whole village community. The Party was there of course all the time, but its function was to assist, to advise, to persuade and to guide and never to force anything upon the people without their full consent, no matter how advantageous it might have been to them. This might seem to be rather a cumbersome way of doing things, but it offers the only safeguard against any elements who might attempt to take advantage of the situation and reap the rich fruit of land reform for themselves before the people have realized the real meaning of the movement. Thus, the land reform is not only an economic measure to improve the living standard of the common peasants, but it is also a political movement in which they are educated to look after their own interests and those of the whole community by means of organizing themselves into a strong political force. Once the farmers have realized the strength of their own organization, no outside force will be able to usurp the rich fruit of their own hard toil and make them relapse into their former plight in which they resigned so much to "fate" and the powers that preyed upon them.

After that democracy comes to the rural population much easier. It begins to permeate the every day life of the masses. They are called on to discuss the various aspects of government regulations which affect them directly or indirectly. For example, in collecting the agricultural tax, a standard land unit was created. It is called a *chung-chung-mou* or a standard *mou* and is defined as a piece of land which, regardless of its size, can yield an average of 150 catties of cereal per annum. It would seem to be almost impossible for the People's Government to make fair and accurate estimates of the land owned by each family in every village in terms of this standard unit. But when the Farmers' Associations were called in to make the estimates, the problem was very much simpler. The Association of each village would call a mass meeting in which their estimates would be made after intensive study. Since the productivity of the land owned by one family is always known to its neighbors, the estimate thus made represented as a rule a true picture. (Any false claims made in the meeting would eventually be refuted by others.) The estimates were then sent to the *chü* government where they were compared with those sent in by the other villages within the same area. When these did not show any obvious discrepancies in comparison with others, they were approved and put into effect.

When a new uniform regulation for collection of agricultural tax was being prepared by the Shantung People's government last spring, the people were again asked to discuss it beforehand. A draft was drawn up by the provincial financial bureau and sent to various villages for extensive discussion. It was then adopted after necessary amendments were made in line with the general tone of the reports on discussions sent in by the magistracies. There were, of course, no formalities such as resolutions and votings, but the regulations promulgated afterwards proved to be the ones most acceptable to the people in general. Quite a number of technical amendments were also made according to the opinions and ideas brought up during the discussions. For example, the original draft provided for a progressive tax rating. Being too complicated, it was found to be unacceptable to the farmers. In its stead, an exemption system suggested by some farmers was adopted. The new system provided for the exemption of half a standard *mou* of land from taxation for every member in a family. The real essence of the progressive tax rating was thus preserved in a system much more acceptable to the common peasants who can now easily calculate the amount of tax they are to pay for each fiscal year.



A Discussion Forum—Wen Hui Pao

Another interesting feature in this respect is the operation of the Pei-Hai Bank in Shantung regarding loans to farmers. When a certain area needed a loan to provide the farmers with enough seeds before sowing or to help them tide over a difficult period, the whole countryside was mobilized with the help of the local political and administrative staffs. Mass meetings were held to discuss the various aspects of the loan. Then, in each village, every farmer who needed a loan was called on to bring before the meeting a statement as to the amount of loan he needed and the way he intended to utilize it if he got it. Every such statement was examined by those present in the meeting before it was adopted and sent to the local bank agent for approval. The bank usually gives out loans to each applicant in compliance with the recommendations thus made. According to the general manager of the Pei-Hai Bank, experience show that this is so far the most effective way of processing government loans to farmers.

Change in the Cities

If democracy is making headway among the rural population, it is also beginning to gain a foothold in the Shantung cities liberated much later. A people's delegate assembly of a provisional nature was held in Tsinan, capital of Shantung, early last August. The greater part of the delegates sitting in that assembly were elected by their respective trade unions or other organizations. Others, such as doctors, industrialists, engineers and writers who had then no appropriate organizations to elect them, were nominated by the city government after consultation with various circles concerned. For almost a week they gathered in a big assembly hall to listen to government reports and to discuss various subjects ranging from clearing city streets to stepping up industrial production. By the dress they wore, one could easily detect how representative the assembly was. They came from all walks of life. There were factory managers in silk Hawaiian shirts. There were delegates of the garrison forces in uniforms and there were workers in overalls and ordinary Chinese shirts and trousers. Among the woman delegates, a bobbed-haired school teacher was sitting beside a woman of over forty with her hair done in the old Chinese style. On the dais, a cotton mill owner was sitting side by side with a cart puller, both of them members of the presidium.

During the discussion, problems and resolutions were first brought up in the various sections and then in the general assembly after being carefully studied and put into well organized form by the sections. Government officials of the various departments were there to note down carefully all that was said in the meeting. A whole day was given to speeches in which emphasis was laid on this or that aspect of the resolutions or problems already brought before the assembly. Heated speeches alternated with calm analyses. Delegates of the workers were usually the most outspoken and enthusiastic members of the assembly. Most of the constructive criticisms and proposals were

made by them. Daringly they were beginning to shoulder the heavy responsibility of leadership in the new democratic system.

Of course this was only the beginning. As mentioned above, the delegates were not yet all elected by popular votes. The Assembly was still of a consultative nature in that the resolutions it passed were not binding on the government. But it was already an important beginning in which the first big step was made toward democracy. It was the first time people of all walks of life assembled together to discuss frankly and solve the problems confronting them. It was the first time a bridge was thrown between the government and the masses. The resolutions might not be carried out all at once, but the government benefited to a great extent from a better knowledge of what the people really wanted. In the future, policies could be shaped accordingly. And most important of all, people were beginning to learn the way of democracy by practicing it. It will not be long before an entirely popularly elected assembly of a legislative nature will emerge and push the people further ahead towards a form of democracy built on a much broader base than that practised, or rather abused, by the capitalistic countries.

Professor Fei Hsiao-tung of Tsinghua University in Peiping described in a recent article how he had been groping in the dark for the real meaning of the word "democracy." The American form of "democracy," and the British form of "democracy" under the Labour Government, had in turn made deep impressions on him when he visited those two countries. But after looking more deeply into the matter, he was very much disillusioned. It was not until he participated in the People's Delegate Conference in Peiping that he finally grasped the real meaning of the word "democracy." In concluding his article, he wrote:

"I can bear testimony to the fact that our starting point is already ahead of democracy as it exists in the United States. And, moreover, in the United States democracy is marching backwards every day."

Professor Fei thus put the whole thing in a nutshell, though I am afraid Acheson and company will prefer to avoid the truth. It won't be too comfortable for them to learn that against the background of growing democracy in China, such assiduously coined terms, as "democratic individualism," will appeal to very few listeners.

Of All Things

According to reports from The Hague, the Dutch are having a hard time getting the Indonesians to agree to assume national debts amounting to some £610,000,000. The Indonesians stubbornly refuse to take over any part of the expenses incurred by the Dutch in fighting the Nationalist movement.

From a report on the World Peace Congress, Paris 1949, by W. E. B. Du Bois, American Negro leader:

The Manifesto of the World Congress faced definitely the colonial and color questions: "We are against colonialism, which continually breeds armed conflicts and threatens to play a decisive part in unleashing a new World War. We condemn the fostering of race hatred and enmity among peoples."

But the Congress was no mere matter of race and color... I saw that tall, white-haired Russian woman, Mrs. Kosmodemyanskaya, with a face like the mother of Jesus, stand and tell how her 18-year-old daughter went to war to defend American "democracy"; how she was stripped by the Nazis and driven naked into the winter, beaten with straps and hanged, yet never betrayed her comrades.

A few nights later, in the home of a woman deputy of the French Parliament, I sat beside a beautiful young woman, almost youthful save for tired lines that dimly crossed her face. I looked down and on her wrist saw the concentration camp numbers burned into her flesh. She said simply: "I lost my mother and father; my brother and—my husband."

In the Congress and out, I saw the crippled and the maimed... I visioned the poverty, the hurt, the misery of a world, crying for God's sake let us at least have Peace, to heal our wounds.

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PPCC Proclaims Republic

ALL eyes are now being focussed on Peiping, where the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council is bringing into being the People's Republic of China.

Already the PPCC has adopted organization statutes for the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council and the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. It has also decided on a national flag (red background with a five pointed golden star in the upper corner flanked by an arc of four smaller golden stars) and a provisional national anthem (March of the Volunteers). In addition it has selected Peiping, to be renamed Peking, as the national capital and discarded the old Chinese calender in favor of the one in use by most of the other countries in the world. Before the meeting ends, delegates must elect a council of the Central People's Government and a National Committee of the PPCC.

The Political Consultative Conference is not a new term. The People's Political Council was first formed in Hankow in 1938 to strengthen national unity in the war of resistance against Japan and to make recommendations for the calling of a National Assembly after the war to put China on the road to political democracy. It thereafter met periodically in Chungking. At the conclusion of the war, a Political Consultative Conference was held, including representatives of the Chinese Communist Party, and a number of agreements were reached pursuant to the calling of a National Assembly and the formation of a coalition government. These agreements were never implemented, however, and civil war broke out anew.

Different From Old PCC

The present PPCC, however, is different from the old in a number of respects, as pointed out in a recent editorial in the *Ta Kung Pao*.

"Whereas the old conference was participated in only by representatives of political parties and civic leaders, at the People's Political Consultative Council today the participants include, in addition to the representatives of political parties, also representatives of various regions in the country, representatives of the armed forces, representatives of public organizations, as well as personages especially invited to the meeting," the paper said.

"It also bears pointing out that the mission of the People's Political Consultative Council is the creation of a new state. . . The old consultative conference was concerned only with the reform of a political regime, and that regime. . . is now being overthrown."

This new state, the People's Republic of China, is described in the organization statute as "a state of the people's democratic dictatorship, led by the working class, based on the alliance of workers and peasants, and rallying all democratic classes and various nationalities within the country."

According to press reports from Peiping, the political structure will be built on a "system of centralized democracy" with the "All China People's Congress" as the top political organ. Its appointed body, the "Central People's Government Council," will supervise all administrative, judiciary and military functions of the government and will have the power of appointment and impeachment as far down as the city government level. The two main administrative political figures will be the chairman of the Central People's Government Council and the head of the Administrative Council, to be known as the premier.

Until the All China People's Congress is elected, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council will perform its functions. Once the Congress is convened, the PPCC will become a purely advisory body. The PPCC will meet once every three years subject to modification by its National Committee and when in session will be the supreme organ of the government.

During the recess of the PPCC, its standing committee, the National Committee, will supervise the execution of PPCC resolution and its own resolutions. The PPCC will also be represented by local committees established in all large cities and provincial capitals and districts.

The Central People's Government Council will be elected by the PPCC and ultimately by the All China People's Congress. It will consist of a chairman and several vice chairmen and councillors. This Council will in turn organize four overall organs: An Administrative Council, a People's Revolutionary Military Committee, a Supreme People's Court and a People's Office of the Procurator General. Under the Administrative Council will be four administrative commissions: 1) the political and legal commission, 2) the finance and economic commission, 3) the cultural and educational commission, and 4) the people's control commission which will be the overall auditing organ. Under the Administrative Council also will be 30 ministries and other government organs.

The roster of the PPCC's 662 delegates indicates the representative nature of the group that is passing upon these momentous issues. Delegates include workers, peasants, servicemen, women, young people, industrial and commercial leaders and academic personages. Attending the meeting are Chang Chih-chung and Shao Li-tse, members of the former KMT peace delegation, and a number of other former KMT leaders who have now announced their support of the new regime. The PPCC's presidium of 89 members represents some 21 groups, ranging from the Chinese Communist Party and the Democratic League to farmers' federations, women's associations, academic societies and industrial circles, and including representatives from China's border areas and overseas communities.

The Chinese Communist Party's role in the PPCC was outlined by Liu Shao-chi, Communist Party representative at the gathering. He explained that the "Chinese Communist Party participates in the People's Political Consultative Council as one political party and will cooperate with other democratic parties, people's associations, various minority people, Overseas Chinese and patrictic elements to decide on all important problems facing China on the basis of the principles laid down for the New Democracy."

Liu Shao-chi promised the delegates that "all resolutions of the People's Political Consultative Council that the Chinese Communist Party has assisted and passed will be implemented firmly by the Chinese Communist Party, which will struggle for their thorough realization."

Communist Stand

Liu Shao-chi also pointed out that the common platform which the Chinese Communist Party supports does not include the long-range aims of the Communists. He declared:

"The Chinese Communist Party will support the People's PCC and will struggle for the realization of its common platform because this platform includes all the fundamental principles of the Communist Party. . . But, as is generally known, the Communist Party has its higher principles which have not been included in the common platform of the PPCC. In the course of consultation some delegates suggested that the socialist future of China be written in the common platform. We think this is unsuitable. Because it will be a matter of the quite remote future to take the serious step of socialism in China, to write this objective into the present common platform may confuse the actual process that is being adopted today.

"Unquestionably, China's future will lead to socialism and communism, because if China doesn't go into socialism after the completion of her industrialization, China will become an imperialistic country, and this will never be allowed by the Chinese people nor by the peoples of the world. But such are matters of the very remote future and the PPCC can discuss them in the time to come. The adoption of socialist steps in China must be dependent on the actual needs of the economic development of Chinese society and the demands of the majority of the Chinese people. At that time, the Chinese Communist Party will certainly consult with all the democratic parties and groups, the people's organizations, the minorities and other patriotic and democratic personnel and make decisions jointly."

My Search For Democracy

FEI HSIAO-TUNG *Translated from the Sin Wen Jih Pao*

THE Conference of Representatives from All Groups of the Public at Peiping lasted six days. For me, it was like attending classes for six days, and during these six days I learned more than I had in any six-year period of my life, and indeed, I learned more than the sum total of all I had previously learned over a period of more than thirty years. For I found, during these six days, what for more than 30 years I had sought and dreamed for—democracy.

I first came upon the word "democracy" at an early age. During the time of the May 4 Movement (May 4, 1919, when China's students protested against the 21 demands of Japan—Editor), I was still in primary school. I could not understand what would constitute a democratic society. From primary school I passed on to middle school and university. Along the way I met various students' movements, each of which I generally tagged along with. What were we struggling for? Democracy. But what exactly was democracy? We did not know.

I grew into the war of resistance. When I returned to the country from abroad, the war had entered its second year, and the reactionary influence had already developed in the Free China area. Like many of my friends, I could not stand the situation. What could I do? Demand democracy? And yet what is democracy? Apart from my book knowledge, I still understood little of its significance.

The Search Begins

Six years ago, I proceeded to the United States to work for the promotion of cultural relations, and began to give the problem considerable study. Coming from a land ruled by reactionary influences to wartime United States under Roosevelt, the atmosphere was certainly different. It was then that I came into contact with the democracy of the bourgeoisie, which was of course much superior to the feudalism and dictatorship of our own country. I stayed in the United States for a year, and on my return wrote a book entitled "First Visit to the United States." I thought at the time that I had arrived at an understanding of democracy. But on second thought my understanding did not appear to be quite correct. For there existed between democracy and capitalism irreconcilable differences. The democracy I was seeking must surely be different.

One year later, I had a chance to visit Britain. At the time, the Labor Party had just assumed power, and called itself Socialist. I hoped, therefore, that Labor Britain would give me a true picture of democracy. Postwar Britain did make a very deep impression upon me. Leaving a locality under bureaucratic control and arriving in a country where rationing was conducted with such complete order, how could I be anything but impressed? I stayed for three months, and on my return home I wrote another book, "Revisiting Britain." I stated in that book that there was comparatively little democracy in the United States, whereas the situation in Britain was much better, and democracy there could be considered very nearly fully established.

About The Author

Professor Fei Hsiao-tung is one of China's best known rural sociologists and is the author of several authoritative works on rural problems. Two of his best known works in English are "Peasant Life in China," and "Earthbound China," both of which have been published in America in recent years. Because of Professor Fei's standing in international educational circles and because of his past identification with American and British ideas of democracy (he has written two books supporting the American and British systems of government), this statement is felt to be particularly significant.—Editor.

But further thoughts belied my conclusion. The colonial rules were increasingly strengthened, armaments were expanded, and in the realm of diplomacy, partnership with the United States was entered into—acts which did not seem to fit in with those of a democracy.

We have been familiar with the term democracy for more than 30 years. I personally have sought after democracy for six years, and what I found was only something which looked like, but was not, the real thing. But during the six days of the conference in Peiping, I attended a class in democracy, and what I learned exceeded all the knowledge I acquired on the subject during the previous years of my life.

Let me be frank and state here that the conference went beyond my expectations. Following the liberation, I admired and respected the Communist Party for its industry, responsibility, modesty, practicality, and willingness to take on difficult problems. I love the Communist Party because many of my beloved young friends, under its leadership, are exerting their best efforts at service, so that there is now real hope for China. It has been proved before my eyes that the Communist Party is working in the service of the people. But as to the realization of democracy by the Communist Party, I must say frankly that I did not have too much faith in the thought before I participated in the Peiping representatives' conference.

There were two reasons why I could not believe the Communist Party would put democracy into application. The first was that the democracy as I understood it in the past was only formal, and not real. For example, it seemed necessary to have such decorative items as balloting, election campaigns carried out with great vigor, and the existence of an "His Majesty's Opposition" as in the British Parliament. After the liberation, we could not see these formal decorations introduced. The second reason was that democracy as I understood it in the past was abstract, formally logical, and not dialectic. When democracy is the rule, there can be no dictatorship, as the two cannot coexist, so it was said. Accordingly, on finding the elements of dictatorship in the government after the liberation, I could not believe it to be democratic. These ideological burdens have since been removed from me, thanks to the recent conference of the representatives of the various groups of the Peiping public.

First Real Lesson

As soon as I set foot in the Assembly Hall, I found a multitude of people, in uniform, in working garb, in short dresses, in long gowns, in foreign style clothes, and even one with a skull cap. These people were obviously drawn from different classes of our society, and it was the first time in my life that I saw such a cosmopolitan crowd assembled together in a single meeting place for the discussion of problems. What was the significance? I looked at the large characters displayed in the Hall meaning "Representatives," and I could not help understanding the situation. These people were truly "representative" of the whole population of the city. For if all the persons attending the conference were of the same type, how could they be "representative"? These people did not come from elections held among the populace, and formally they did not satisfy the conditions of the democracy I had known previously. But I would like to ask if any representative body like this one could be produced in any assembly in Britain or the United States? Which do we prefer, the formality of an election or the fact of the representativeness of the delegation? An election is only a means, and if it can increase the representative nature of the delegates, it is desirable of course. Otherwise, the means is not necessary. On the wall of the Assembly Hall were displayed the words meaning "Practicability is the Essence." I fully understood it. I had learned my first lesson.

After taking my seat, I listened to the reports. When Mayor Yeh and Commissioner Tan referred to the activities of the special bandit agents in Peiping, a sudden tension grasped my nerves, and I recalled to mind the conditions under which I had participated in various public meetings under the reactionary rule. Seated next to me was Mr. Chien Tuan-sheng, who, it happened, also occupied a seat next to me on the night of the meeting in Kunming when we launched the "December 1 Movement."

(This refers to a movement by Kunming professors and students in late 1945 to urge the formation of a coalition government and protest

against any resumption of China's civil war—Editor.)

At that meeting, when I rose to speak, shots were fired from all around the Lienta building, and bullets whizzed over our heads. The conditions then compared with the situation now were like hell compared with heaven. Today I could peacefully listen to addresses and speak myself. What existed was harmony and the warmth of friendship. There were no threats from bullets. How was this brought about? Because, obviously, the reactionaries had been disarmed, their activities had been suppressed.

This was dictatorship, it was true. But only because of such a dictatorship were we able to have democracy in our conference hall. Had it not been for this dictatorship, our meeting place might conceivably have been turned into another scene like that at the Lienta campus. Understanding again dawned on me. I realized now how democracy and dictatorship could be blended together. This was the second lesson I learned.

Although I attended classes, as it were, for six days, I am ashamed to say that I cannot claim any personal contribution to the conference. But I learned much. Problems which I could not solve for years were clarified during this brief period. How could I but be grateful for the conference?

Nonsensical Statements

After returning home from the conference, I spent a whole day reading up on the newspapers for the past few days. It happened that the United States State Department had issued its White Paper. This Paper insisted that China had been placed under dictatorial rule. Had I not participated in the Peiping conference, I might have believed these lies. But it was a real coincidence that while nonsensical statements were being issued across the Pacific, here in China a reply was given with facts to the question as to whether or not China had entered the stage of democracy. I can bear testimony to this fact: Our starting point is already ahead of democracy as it exists in the United States. And moreover in the United States democracy is marching backward daily.

The Conference in Peiping is only the starting point of democracy in China. It has educated me. I hope that many friends who, like me, carried ideological burdens will have a chance to participate in similar conferences, and thereby discover the truth about China from facts.

Traveling Expenses?

After 40 years, Mexico has resumed the minting of coins for China—between 200,000 and 300,000 Chinese silver dollars. They were ordered by the Chinese Nationalist Government. —*Dispatch from Mexico City, September 27, 1949.*

The Week's Business

ALTHOUGH prices of agricultural products continued to decline during the week under review, quotations of industrial and export supplies remained on the firm side with improved trade conditions. The margin of fluctuations, however, was narrow, as the index of essential commodities on September 24, compared with a week ago, went up some 7.2 percent.

This development of local market trends is attributed to intensified interflow of supplies between Shanghai and other liberated areas. While foodstuffs and agricultural products are flowing steadily to Shanghai, local industrial and export goods are being sent to other ports and Tientsin for re-export. According to a report in the *Ta Kung Pao*, more than 400 tons of cotton yarn, cloth and silk goods were sent to Tientsin from Shanghai for export. A part of these goods, including 907 quintals of cotton yarn, 713 quintals of cotton cloth and 12,586 kilograms of silk piece goods, was exported from the North China port around the middle of the month.

For the strengthening of economic control work here, a East China Finance and Economic Commission was established in Shanghai on September 24, with Tseng Shan as the Chairman. This Commission has as its chief task the following:

1) Development of state enterprises;
2) Promotion of private enterprises under the principle of "equal attention to state and private interests and mutual benefit to labor and capital";
3) Encouragement of free flow of supplies between urban and rural areas;
4) Resumption and expansion of communication facilities;
5) Implementation of a correct financial and currency policy and stabilization of the market;
6) Consolidation of tax collection system; and
7) Intensification of learning and elevation of technical standards.

In the financial market during the week under review, the money situation remained comparatively steady, while the curb interest rate in loans fluctuated at around JMP10 per mille per day.

Following the completion of the recapitalization of local financial establishments, a number of private commercial banks have formed a syndicate to finance the cotton purchase. The syndicate is to have a capital of JMP4,000,000,000, of which JMP2,000,000,000 was released on Monday, contributing to a slightly tight money situation on that date. The Native Joint Collection Commission, which is the sole organ for the purchase of native cotton formed by the local state and private textile mills, is to have a capital of JMP10,000,000,000.

Keeping pace with booming trade, the domestic remittance market has also seen rapid development. Instead of premiums given for remittances from Shanghai to Peiping and Tientsin during the past few weeks, a charge of as high as JMP120 per mille for remittances to these two northern cities is required, indicating the increasing amount of money being sent north.

During the recent month, the ratio between the inward and outward remittances has been steadily falling. On September 17 and 19, the amount of outward remittances even exceeded that of the inward remittances for Shanghai. This also serves to show the reviving rural economy and the increased volume of trade between Shanghai and other districts.

Business at the Shanghai Office of the People's Bank, meanwhile, has been expanding. By September 24, the total deposits at the Bank were reported to have reached JMP60,600,000,000, not including the cash reserve deposited by the private commercial banks. To help depositors who enjoy good credit, the Bank is said to be contemplating granting permission for the use of crossed checks issued on the same day.

With brisk outport demand for manufactured products, local factories are also in far better shape than weeks ago, and, with the convening of the People's Political Consultative Council and the establishment of the People's Republic of China, they are looking forward to better days. Factories are finding themselves with increasing orders, and few are now operating at losses.

The China Textile Industries, formerly a losing business, is reported now operating at profit. For a bolt of cotton cloth manufactured and sold, a profit of JMP1,000 could be made at the present quotation. While no profit could yet be realized for the cotton yarn produced, the production costs could already be easily covered.

Following is a listing of representative commodity prices for the past week:

	Sept. 21 JMP	Sept. 28 JMP
US dollar (note)	3,400	3,700
Parity Deposit Unit	752	737
20's yarn	695,500	730,000
12-lb. cloth	32,400	33,800
Rice, 1st grade	39,500	38,000
Peanut oil	60,000	70,000
Coal briquette	5,500	5,500

NEWS OF THE WEEK

PPCC Sets Up People's Republic Of China; Sinkiang Comes Over

THE proclamation of a People's Republic of China was made by Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Chinese Communist Party on Wednesday, September 21, at the opening session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council. More than 600 delegates representing all the important political parties, public organizations, the People's Liberation Army, cultural and scientific groups, together with several special representatives, attended the conference which has been called to establish a new government for China.

From around the world come reports hailing the prospect of the new People's Republic as, from the Warsaw *People's Tribune*, "an inseparable part of the world peace and progressive front." Moscow papers published the reports of the *New China News Agency* which said that the PPCC, which represents broad sections of the people of China, will exercise the functions of a National Congress pending the convocation of such a Congress.

In the British *Daily Worker*, the foreign affairs commentator of the paper wrote: "The establishment of the People's government in China will have far-reaching international effect. It will demand recognition from other countries, and also a lawful place in the United Nations organization, in the Security Council, and other international organizations."

In Czechoslovakia and France, the inauguration of the PPCC appeared as front page news with summaries of Chairman Mao's opening speech.

* * *

UK Recogniton?

NEWS of possible British recognition of the People's Republic is most unclear. Whereas most observers contend that only *de jure* will make sense in the existing situation, from London on September 22 came the report that "Britain has definitely decided to extend *de facto* recognition to a Chinese People's government when it is formed." This "from usually well informed quarters" report suggests that the decision was an outcome of the foreign ministers' discussions on the Far East held in Washington last week. These discussions were held between the foreign ministers of the United States, Britain and France. *De facto* recognition implies the continuation of similar recognition of the remains of the Nationalist government, but it is difficult to see what point there would be in such an unrealistic arrangement.

* * *

Military Events

THE fall of Amoy is not yet confirmed, Suiyuan province has reached a regional agreement with the People's Liberation Army, and in Central China the PLA has scored successes in western Hunan. Practically all the Foochow-Amoy stretch of coast facing Taiwan is in PLA hands.

A particularly significant event has been the occupation of Pingtan Island, 50 miles southeast of Foochow and facing the northern tip of Taiwan. The PLA invaded the island with an assortment of small native craft, which the KMT navy and airforce failed to stop.

The New China News Agency announced on September 28 that Sinkiang has accepted the peace terms of Chairman Mao Tze-tung. The Sinkiang provincial government is changed to the Sinkiang Provisional People's government. Chairman Mao and C-I-C Chu Teh, in a return message to General Tao Chih-yo and Chairman Pao Erh-han of Sinkiang province, said: "We are overjoyed by your announcement to break away from the Canton reactionary regime. . ."

Hongkong has reported the PLA racing for the Yumen oilfields in the Kansu corridor, with its objectives the oilfield installations and Sinkiang beyond.

On September 27, according to the Wen Hui Pao, the Shanghai Office of the China Petroleum Corporation received a cable from its Lanchow Office stating that the Yumen and Laochunmiao oilfields of Kansu were liberated on September 26 with all installations intact.

The Yumen oilfields are the most important military objective in the northwest. With oil supplies long since cut off from the China coast, the Yumen wells and refinery have been supplying gasoline and other necessary oils to the northwest area.

* * *

Import, Export Trade

THOUGH foreign trade in the East China military zone has not yet been fully developed because of the blockade, the official *Giefang Rhbao* reported this week that there are indications showing that the situation has gradually taken a turn for the better.

Efforts have been made by the People's Government to encourage the import of foreign raw cotton and the export of hog bristles, tung oil, tea and raw silk.

Facilities have been arranged for private manufacturers and businessmen in regard to transportation, financial assistance, procurement and taxation. Businessmen in Shanghai who intend to shift their plants and companies to North China ports under protection of business licenses, have been particularly favored, according to the *Giefang Rhbao*.

* * *

Blockade Trouble

HONGKONG papers report that the British Navy has come in for sharp criticism from the local trading community over failure to make any move to protect the British ship *Edith Moller* which was intercepted on the high seas by the KMT navy, robbed of her cargo and held incommunicado for 25 days. British feelings are not relieved by the fact that two American freighters have just gone unharmed into Shanghai.

The captain of the *Edith Moller* claimed that a British naval vessel failed to keep an appointed rendezvous and that the Navy made no response to repeated radio appeals for aid although the vessel's radio messages were picked up by non-Navy stations in Shanghai and Hongkong.

Hongkong's commercial community is finding the KMT blockade particularly irksome now because encouraging reports are being received in Hongkong about improved conditions in liberated port cities for foreign trade and business. The blockade, rather than problems of changing internal conditions, is now seen as the main barrier to a large-scale resumption of trade with China.

* * *

Seamen's Party

AN interesting footnote to the visit of the General Gordon and two American freighters to Shanghai was the party given by the Shanghai Seamen's Union for American crew members of the three ships. More than 300 persons attended the function, heard speeches by Chinese seamen who

Soviet Atomic Bomb!

London, Sept. 24.

The Evening Standard quoted a report said to have reached London from Prague. The report said a Czechoslovak minister, who recently visited Russia, disclosed at a party after his return . . . etc."

London, Sept. 24.

The Evening News quoted a Paris report that the detection was carried out in France by special instruments lent by the United States. The paper listed several recent seismographic recordings of shocks . . . etc."

Santa Monica, Cal., Sept. 24.

High American officials said: "It was teamwork involving the State Department, the military, central intelligence, the British, Canadians and long-range planning . . . It was plain old grind. The evidence was not seismographic."

North China Daily News, Sept. 26
"Russia Has It"

Moscow, Sept. 24.

The Tass News Agency pointed out that Soviet Foreign Minister, M. Molotov, issued a statement on November 16, 1947, in which he stated that the secret of atomic bombs "had long ago gone out of existence."

said the Chinese workers will always be friendly toward the American workers and replies by the Americans who offered their good wishes for the new China. The auditorium of the Shanghai General Labor Union, where the party was held, was decorated with a banner reading, "Seamen the Forerunners of Mutual Understanding and Cooperation Between the Nations."

* * *

Soviet Atom Explosion

PRESIDENT Truman's announcement that an atomic explosion had taken place in the Soviet Union "within recent weeks" has aroused a good deal of excitement everywhere except in Russia itself. The official Russian news agency *Tass* issued a reminder that as long ago as 1947 the Soviet foreign affairs minister V. M. Molotov had stated that the secret of the atom bomb was non-existent. "The Soviet Union possessed the secret of the atomic weapon in 1947," the *Tass* statement said.

With regard to the detection of an atomic explosion in Russia, *Tass* indicated that the blast had occurred through the use of atomic energy in building operations rather than an actual explosion of a bomb. "In the Soviet Union," the statement said, "as is known, building work on a large scale is in progress: hydroelectric stations, mines, canals, roads, which require the necessity of large scale blasting work with the use of the latest technical means. Blasting work has taken place and is taking place pretty frequently in various parts of the country. It is possible that this might draw attention beyond the confines of the Soviet Union."

* * *

"Devaluation" of US Bomb

THE news has made it unmistakeably clear that the United States no longer holds a monopoly on the atom bomb. As one delegate at the United Nations put it, the US atom bomb, like the British pound, has been "devalued." Thus, the problem of controlling atomic energy is likely to receive increased attention.

It is interesting to recall in this connection that the Soviet representative to the UN General Assembly, Andrei Vyshinsky, proposed only last week that the Assembly ban atomic weapons, condemn "preparations of a new war" by the United States and Britain, and urge the five big powers to conclude a new peace pact. The *Tass* statement commenting on the atomic explosion reiterated the Soviet stand that atomic weapons should be prohibited. It said: ". . . the Soviet government, despite the existence in its country of the atomic weapons, adopts its former position in favor of absolute prohibition of the use of atomic weapons. Concerning control of the atomic weapon, it has to be said that control will be essential in order to check upon fulfillment of the decision in the prohibition of production of the atomic weapon."

The Atomic Energy Commission has been stalemated for almost four years in its attempts to establish international control over atomic energy. The majority plan, proposed by the US, is based on unfettered international inspection. The Soviet plan is for "unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons, rigid international control

What Chinese Papers Say...

Sterling Devaluation

COMMENTING on the announcement of the devaluation of the pound sterling, the *Ta Kung Pao* declared that the old official rate had long been a nominal one.

"The pound, the standard currency of Britain which was originally a gold currency, is at present a controlled paper currency," the paper said.

"Its value was formerly pegged at £1 to US$4.03. The stability of the pound was maintained by gold imported from abroad or by other means in the past.

"After the termination of World War II, the economic conditions in Britain greatly deteriorated, the income from its colonies also decreased, while on the other hand its obligations towards America increased. This being the case, the official rate of £1 to US$4.03 has long become a nominal quotation. . .

"Devaluation means a cut in the purchasing power of currency. For instance, one English pound, which originally could buy US$4.03 worth of goods, can now get only US$2.80 worth. On the other hand, American goods which sold for £1 before now sell for more than £1. English goods on the overseas markets, however, are now selling at much lower prices on account of the depreciation of the pound. It may be seen therefore that, from the standpoint of a capitalist country, the devaluation of its currency is an impetus to exports but a damper on imports, thereby improving its international trade balances.

"Domestically," the paper concluded, "the devaluation of currency is another means of exploitation by the moneyed class in a capitalist country. Although the exchange rate of the pound with other currencies has dropped, £1 remains £1 in Britain. The government can use the devaluated pound to repay debts. As regards industrial capitalists, they may raise the price of their products while the wages are not hiked proportionally. So they can also repay debts with the devaluated currency."

The *Sin Wan Jih Pao* commented: "That British imperialism was weak after World War II was obvious. In the beginning, the huge import excess rapidly consumed the limited foreign exchange reserve of Britain. In order to maintain the import of daily necessities including foodstuffs and raw materials, Britain in recent years has had to rely on the US for loans and assistance such as the 1946 loans under the Marshall Plan. This prompted the White House to take aggressive steps toward London, which yielded ground politically, economically and especially militarily. . .

"We must take cognizance of several facts revealed by this development. In the first place, American imperialism will henceforth pursue more aggressive and malicious measures in exercising its rule and exploitation within the reactionary camp. . .

"In the second place, because of the movements of the exchange rates, all the debtor nations, the countries whose currencies are devaluated, will have their economic obligations increased toward the creditor nation which is American imperialism, and this must affect the living standards of their people and accelerate the outbreak of a crisis in the capitalist world.

"In the third place, British imperialism has pulled down the fences against foreign investment in its colonial possessions, and it may be believed that American capitalist monopolies will now take the speediest measures to perpetrate economic aggression against the British colonies."

In conclusion the paper observes: "Those people in our country who still entertain certain illusions of American imperialism may well take a realistic lesson from the plight of British imperialism, whose reliance on American imperialism has only led it to the aggravation of its economic crisis."

* * * *

Great Mission

NOTING the opening of the People's Political Consultative Council in Peiping, the *Giefang Rhbao* declared:

"The Chinese People's Political Consultative Council, which has now made its appearance, is built not only on the foundations of a decisive military victory, but also on the foundations of political maturity. Since May 1, 1948, when the Chinese Communist Party issued its proposal to the people throughout the country for the convocation of a new political consultative conference, there has come immediate response from the various democratic parties and groups, various people's organizations, democratic elements among all walks of life, the racial minorities in the country, and overseas Chinese communities."

The paper added: "We fully believe the PPCC will be able to carry out its great historical mission and formulate a common political program so as to establish a Central People's government . . . and enable the more speedy elimination of the remnant influences of the Kuomintang reactionaries."

The *Wen Hui Pao* said that the PPCC "symbolizes the complete revolutionary unity of the country" and expressed belief that "the Conference will proceed with its task smoothly and give birth to a government that truly belongs to the people."

In Chinese Magazines . . .

World Culture

THE September 23rd issue of *World Culture* carries an interesting analysis of the three power financial talks in Washington that culminated in the devaluation of the British pound sterling. The article says these talks exposed the growing contradictions between Britain and the United States and indicated that the two countries have made a deal over the world's colonial territories.

"The talks in Washington were brought about because of the so-called dollar deficit of Britain," the article says, "and this dollar deficit is itself the product of Anglo-American contradictions.

"Since the second world war, the United States has been exploiting the financial difficulties of Britain and forcing open, with loans, the doors of Great Britain and her colonies and dominions. Britain has been obliged to abandon her preferential trade rights in her colonies and dominions, and the whole sterling bloc has become a market for the products of Wall Street. Meanwhile, Britain's gold and foreign exchange reserves have been flowing into the vaults of Wall Street. This is the cause of the so-called dollar deficit, the result of Britain's defeat in the war for markets."

The article says there were two roads open to Britain: "The first was to suspend her anti-Soviet activities, reduce her military budget and balance her foreign trade. The second was to sell out her colonies and dominions to American imperialism for more loans."

Because the British Labor Government, although "in the guise of a workers' party, really serves the interests of the capitalists," the magazine continues, it chose the latter course.

The American capitalists for their part, according to the article, were motivated by the desire "to take over, with small outlay, the colonial possessions of Britain in order to exploit these areas and alleviate the economic crisis in the United States itself."

The article then discusses the agreement reached in Washington. "Outwardly, this formula is couched in the most arresting diplomatic language," it says. "But when the agreement is bared of its diplomatic trimmings, it becomes an ugly deed for the sale of colonial possessions. Its reference to the encouragement of American private capital investments means the sale of the British dominions and colonies to the American capitalist monopolies.

"The price paid by the purchaser, America, is as follows: America will liquidate Britain's debts to her colonies. America will give some of the petroleum business in the dollar areas to Britain. America will give some of its shipping business to Britain. America will buy more from the British colonies and dominions. America will give certain import facilities to Britain and her colonies. America will give new loans to British dominions and colonies. And finally, though the loans are issued directly to the dominions and colonies, because clearance of American dollars is handled through London, Britain's dollar shortage will no doubt be temporarily relieved. Summing up the agreement, it can be seen that the American capitalist monopolies have put through another profitable deal. They are paying in odds and ends for the wholesale purchase of all the British possessions."

* * *

HOWEVER, the magazine points out, although this will mean further conflict between America and Britain in the struggle for world markets, the two countries are still allied politically in their "common hatred of the daily expanding forces for peace in the world."

"American imperialism is exploiting this common hatred... to strengthen its control and plunder of Britain," it says, "while Britain's reactionary rulers offer themselves as willing tools... in the hope of gaining a share of the world spoils...Their common intrigue leads one to the conclusion that the conflict between US-British imperialism on the one hand, and the colonial lands, on the other, will be aggravated."

The article then notes the political talks which took place in Washington between the British and Americans following the conclusion of the financial talks. These talks, it said, reportedly covered such topics as "preparations to enforce an 'undeclared' peace in Japan," formulation of a joint policy toward the new China, the fostering of puppet regimes in Southeast Asia and unified control of the puppet regimes in the Middle East, and the "continued exploitation" of Tito.

"The colonial nations under British imperialist influence, particularly those in Southeast Asia, are developing victorious national liberation movements," the article concludes. "And in the face of such colossal forces, the American capitalist monopolies must do a little thinking before parting with their actual investments.

"For this reason, after the successful conclusion of the deal in Washington for the purchase of these British colonies, further negotiations had to be conducted to plan measures to suppress the liberation movements...and proceed with intrigues against the Soviet Union, the New Democracies, and the new China who are giving moral support to these movements."

and destruction of existing atomic bombs."

US Secretary of State Acheson said this week that it was now more important than ever that there should be an effective system of international control, but he declared he saw no necessity of changing the UN majority plan. India's representative, Sir Benegal Rau, is reported trying to work out a compromise plan. Meanwhile, officials in Washington were reported as saying they expected America would now have a greater exchange of atomic information with Britain, presumably in an attempt to keep ahead of Russia.

* * *

Penny-wise?

IN Britain, the effects of the devaluation of the pound remain the question in everyone's mind. Dispatches from London report that living costs may rise far more than was at first anticipated. One press report said "It is already apparent that the rise in prices will not stop merely at bread as suggested by Sir Stafford Cripps, and fears of an extension are responsible for doubt as to the trade union reaction. . ."

British businessmen also are finding the question more complicated than it appeared at first glance. As another dispatch from London explained, "The devaluation has caused a rise in sterling prices which is not confined to Canadian wheat, US metals, Persian oil, and other hard currency values. It applies to any soft currency prices which are linked with hard currencies. For example, in countries which have devalued, the maximum prices under the International Wheat Agreement automatically rise, since they were based on gold.

"Canada has already raised her wheat agreement price by the full extent of her devaluation. Even more strikingly, the Australian commerce minister yesterday estimated that the devaluation would mean a windfall of between 16 and 20 million Australian pounds on her next wheat crop. This is in spite of the fact that Australia has devalued, and that almost all her wheat is sold to countries which have also devalued."

The subject is being debated in the British Parliament this week, and the Labor Government will seek a vote of confidence on the issue. Its main concern, however, is not with opposition from the Conservative Party, which was not opposed to devaluation, but with its own labor constituency.

* * *

Hungarians Sentenced

THE Hungarian treason trials ended this week with pronouncement of sentences for the eight persons charged with spying for the United States and Yugoslavia and plotting to overthrow the Hungarian government. Three were given death sentences, two life imprisonment, one nine years and the remaining two transferred to a military court. All had pleaded guilty. Lazlo Rajk, former Hungarian foreign minister, whose case has received the greatest attention, was sentenced to death. Previously he had told the court, "Whatever sentence you give me I will agree that it is just."

LETTERS

(Continued from page 57)

here that no temptation could induce me to betray the interests of the masses and that it would be my greatest pleasure to have done something really beneficial to the people even though my body should be crushed. Thus, I have long considered it my duty to commit myself to the work of winning a peaceful liberation of Changsha and in the long run leading my armed troops happily back to the people. . . ."

General Chen's frank speech was applauded by the grateful audience. I was enlightened by his speech and I think it is a lesson we should circulate especially among the intelligentsia whose mind is still tinted with feudalism so that every one will understand that any policy, if it is not enacted in the interest of the people, will be doomed to failure.

WU CHUNG SAN.

Changsha
September 15, 1949.

NEW YOUTH CORPS

To The Editor:

Three years ago, the Chinese Communist delegates to the former PCC in Chungking made a suggestion that all political cliques should withdraw from the school and universities. This suggestion was well received by the students and democratic personages throughout the country. If we are not forgetful, we should remember that the San Min Chu I Youth Corps in the universities constituted a great menace to the students and its members were authors of black lists. That was why the Communists made the above suggestion.

Now the Chiang Kai-shek gang has been beaten, and we are no longer afraid of being put in the black list. Consequently, we must take the revolutionary work as our duty and prepare ourselves to serve for the good of the workers and peasants.

But we are in need of a strong, democratic and progressive organization to lead us in the movements against feudalism, imperialism and the reactionaries. In other words, the New Democratic Youth Corps will serve as the dynamo for the reconstruction of the new China. This new organization is entirely different from the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, because membership in the NDYC is on a voluntary basis. The NDYC is open to all. Even the members of the reactionary San Min Chu I Youth Corps are allowed to join it, as long as they show themselves ready to be educated.

As an organization, the NDYC is independent. Politically, it is led by the Communist Party. It might be called a school of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tze-tung's political thoughts.

FRANCIS HANLING CHOW.

Shanghai
September 16, 1949.

"WAIT-AND-SEEERS"

To The Editor:

Among the foreign-influenced community in Tientsin there are some who recently have been taking advantage of freedom of speech and doing, as your paper has so aptly put it, what "amounts to downright disruption." These self-styled "wait-and-seeers" are actually watching with unconcealed glee any indication of warming up of the cold war—which they feel will be a magic carpet to waft them back into their decadent state of mental comfort. Many in this category are rendering a plausible lip-service, of which we have seen so much these past years and which we despised.

American policy in China must take its share of the blame for this state of affairs. "Spoon feeding" of the KMT has produced fat, spoiled "babies" who are finding it pretty rough to stand on their own now. Whimpering for the protection of the "nursery" is gaining in audibility lately now that the novelty of liberation is wearing of. . . .

I find that consideration for the other fellow is conspicuously absent from the consciousness of this group of persons who think only of getting what they want—over whose body they don't care. World War III is the answer for them—they won't be doing the suffering anyway. . . .

Yesterday along Roosevelt Road here I saw the rubble of buildings, destroyed either before or at the time of liberation, largely cleared up and several new modern buildings already standing there in its place. Before liberation, ruins remained as they were for years. The French Bazaar which was dark, dirty and dead before liberation was alight and teeming with business.

Of special interest in Tientsin now is the convening of the three day meeting of the All Tientsin Council of Representatives. Three hundred sixty persons, representing all phases of Tientsin's activity, have been selected by the Military Commission and the Municipal Council. Each was notified of his appointment by a formal invitation, a gold satin membership badge, and JMP 7,500 to be apportioned each day as follows: eight catties of millet for food, five catties for transportation, and one catty for cigarettes.

BETTY C. CHANG.

Tientsin
September 5, 1949.

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The Review's English Lesson XCIX

Units of Weight and Measurement

At length: As used in the sentence, "Mr. Li dwelt at length on various topics," the phrase means "fully." "In length" is incorrect.

Consensus of opinion: The word "consensus" means agreement in matters of opinion; therefore, "consensus of opinion" is redundant (beyond necessity, surplus, excessive). It is correct to say, "In Shanghai the consensus is that much progress is being made toward stabilization of prices."

Return back: This is also a redundant phrase; to return means to come (or go) back. "Many foreigners recently returned to their home countries."

Convince: To convince is to satisfy by proof, to bring by argument or proof to belief. The usual preposition following "convince" is "of": "They have been convinced of the necessity for a socialist and communist future for China." Do not use, "convinced in the necessity. . . ."

Petit-bourgeoisie: Since "bourgeois" and "bourgeoisie" come from the French language, it seems reasonable to keep the French form of the adjective "petit" (small), and as the two words denote a class, they are hyphenated. However, the phrase "petty bourgeois(ie)" is also used.

Resigned to: In the sense of submissive, acquiescent, uncomplaining, "to" should be used, not "in," as, "He was resigned to his loss."

Wage: Used as a verb, to wage is most frequently found with "war," as in "The revolutionary forces waged war upon the fascist reaction." Here the meaning is to engage in, or carry on, war. But if the people's government rules the nation, it **wields** power, it does not **wage** power.

External imperialism: This phrase is frequently used to mean imperialism from abroad, as in "opposition against the internal common enemy and the external imperialism." The idea is perhaps understandable, but a better expression would be, "opposition against both the common enemy within and the inroads of imperialism from without."

* * *

Units of Weight, Measurement, and Description

THE English language has no classifiers, but especially in dealing with bulk materials, such as cotton, grain, oil, etc., the unit should be correctly used. If it is not, reports or statistics on quantities of goods produced, sold or transported have little meaning for the reader. There are two problems here: one is using the correct English measurement unit, and the other is giving an exact idea of the size of the Chinese unit, if these are used.

Notice that units usually are required only with materials in the mass, such as grain, oil, flour, coal; other commodities, which are produced by the piece, do not require the writer to specify a unit, unless, for the sake of convenience, the units are so small that they are grouped into larger classes, as for example cakes of soap are figured at so many gross (144 cakes).

In many cases, if the unit itself is mentioned (a cake of soap), as one example or one article, the usual descriptive noun should be used. For example, we do not say "a lump of soap" or "a cake of coal," but "a cake of soap" and "a lump of coal." Other examples: a loaf of bread; a grain of rice (or wheat); a tablet of aspirin; a pair of scissors; a stick of wood; a sheet of sandpaper, and so on.

But many nouns do not require such description. We simply say, a dollar, a check, a shirt, a nail, a saw blade. Often, the phrase "so many pieces of checks" is seen—whether it is one or a hundred, checks come by the piece anyway; they are not measured by the pound, nor are they a continuous medium like water, oil or flour, so "pieces of" is incorrect.

The question of expressing commodity weights and measures in English units is not difficult, and if the report is in English, this is obviously the best practice. Flour is measured in pounds, bags or tons. If bags, then the weight in pounds per bag should be stated somewhere, otherwise the total is uncertain. We see cotton yarn quoted "per piece," but the average person might have difficulty discovering what the English expression should be, or how much each "piece" weighs. With cloth, "bale" is the usual unit, but again, the yardage per bale should be mentioned. Raw cotton comes by the bale, but the American and Chinese bales are of different weight: which kind of bale is meant, or how much does it weigh in pounds?

Care should be exercised in all such figures and quantities, especially if they are in a report meant for the general reader, who might have no idea about the quantities involved, especially if he is not connected with the trade or is far away from the market where the units are used. This applies especially to such units as piculs, and to the Chinese linear foot. The picul differs with locality and with the commodity; if by picul is meant some official, universal standard of weight, then this weight in pounds should be specified. The Chinese foot is longer than the English foot, so any measurements quoted in feet should be stated as Chinese or English feet.

These remarks apply especially to pharmaceuticals and industrial materials; the average person is probably quite unfamiliar with the unit of quotation. If daily prices are in question, for example of sulfuric acid, penicillin, or saccharine, the unit does not matter if all that is required is the general rise or fall in price. But for any further information, the unit should be given. Where available, shipping figures should be expressed in total quantities by weight, length, etc., and cash value.

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